

All of these books against toleration

AN APPEALE

From the Court to the Country.

Made by a Member of Parliament lawfully
chosen, but secluded illegally by my
L. Protector.

Printed, MDCLVI.

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After so manifest a breach of our Lawes, so un-
coulorable a violation of our Priviledges, so hay-
nous an invasion of our common Right, and
freedome, and so publique a defiance given to
the whole Nation, it is more then time for us to
prepare for our defence, and to raise new bancks against that
violent inundation of Arbitrary power, which has broken in
upon us, and is ready to beare downe all before it, and against
which our ancient, and great Charters, our fundamentall In-
stitutes have been too insufficient to make resistance. I con-
fesse it were much to be wished that the necessity of our case
had not compeld us to referre this present Controversie to the
arbitrement of the Sword; wee having so lately past through
all the calamities of a civill Warre, but the axe being layd to
the root of our Liberties, and all other meanes proving ineffec-
tuall for our redress, like Physick too weake for the body of
the Patient; there remains only this choyce eyther to submit
our selves, and posterity perpetuall Slaves to the uncontralla-
ble dictates of one mans will, or by our Strengths united to
breake his bands a sunder, and cast away his cords from us.

Neither ought wee to distrust that the appearance, and owning of the Divine providence will be lesse signall for us in this necessary and just assertion of our Liberties, then it shew'd it self when wee engaged upon farre slighter provocation against the late King.

To omit his forcible encroachment upon our inherent right when hee assumed the style of Protector (for I will appeale to the brest of every individuall Person, how farre his assent attended him to the Throne) let us take a short view of his Government, that from thence we may gather, whether in any one instance hee hath laboured the Peoples satisfaction for his injurious usurpation of it.

And our Prospect hereof will be the sayrer, if wee begin it from his division of the Land into severall Cantons; and placing over them those lawless M: Gs: which have usurped likewise the Civill power, over-awing the Judges in theyr Circuits, countenancing the causes of theyrowne faction, reversing the decrees and verdicts of our publique Judicatories; and like the *Sultans Timariots* farming the Land out at 60000. pounds a Moneth, or what higher rate he shall hereafter please to set it at. Nor shall any man under these rigid tax Masters retayne any longer a property in his estate then this our Grand *Signeur* shall please to continue him in it. From whose illegall exaction of the Tenths of all compounders estates and of whose else hee pleaseth wee may readily conclude; and in the following parts of this discourse shall make cleare how great danger from this kind of exonomy hangs over all men though of different Principles, and interests for them.

This severity therefore exerciz'd upon them from a groundless surmise (for ought that yet hath bin made appeare to us) of theyr generall guilt, should timely awaken us to our defence, least like those in *Poliphemus* his den, whilest wee weakly and faintly hoping that it will be our fate to survive the fury of the Monster, or to linger out a wretched life beyond our fellows, shall

shall at the last find our numbers so decreas'd, and our strengths insensibly abated, that it will bee to no effect to oppose.

That the condition of those who have faithfully in theyr severall stations discharged theyr Consciences in vindicating the Liberties of the People, is at this day the same with those who in that quarrell formerly withstood them, you shall need for a prooffe no further to looke backe, then to the late Seclusing the major part of the Members lawfully return'd, who upon their addresse to the remayning Number for theyr admittance, were by them refer'd to the Councell, from whom they received answer, they had refus'd none that to them appear'd to be men of Integrity, and according to the qualification in the Instrument; and therefore his Highness and the Councill had given order to the Souldiers at the doore to keepe them out.

Let us stay a little to compare this infringement of our Priviledges with that of the late Kings in demanding the Five members, which as it was in it self a violation most unjustifiable, so was it by him afterwards confess'd to be, and recanted; yet even at that time there was a pretence of a particular Charge preparing against them, notwithstanding which allegation in excuse of that insolent fact, it was by all men judged to bee the highest Indignity that ever was offer'd to that supreme Court. But how infinitely this transcends it in all its measures, considering the Number of the persons seclused, the insufficiency of this generall Charge, and how farre this doth reflect upon the Honour of the respective Countyes, whose Delegates they are, to have theyr Messenger reproachfully dismiss'd like *Dauids* by *Hannu*, *Sam. 2. 10.* How neerly this want of Integrity doth entitle us to the cryme of *Cavaliers*, and consequently to all that ruine that hath attended them, a man of a very short sight may easily discern.

And that none for the future shall be deem'd worthy to beare Office in the Common-wealth, but such who have interests distinct from the Peoples, and owne their sole and immediate dependance upon the Protector, that none shall bee reputed Men of Integrity but the corrupt part of the Soulderie, and theyr abettors, that this qualification of the Instrument admits so great a latitude of interpretation that the most zealous Patriots and incorrupt assertours of the Peoples rights may stand secluded by it, I presume this our last repulse hath put out of dispute; and that those who have not stryg'n'd at this Gnat, may swallow a Camell, and from this scandalous objection, this odious defamation of our Persons names proceed to derive a tytle to our estates wee have too great reason to feare: Especially if wee recollect at what vast charge he hath maintayned those Fleets and Armyes for these two last yeares against the *Spaniard*; for it is most confessedly true that when a period was put to the long Parliament, and in their dissolution to all our hopes of future Freedome and Felicity, there remained in Banck above Four hundred thousand pounds, all which in these late inglorious Enterprizes hath been expended; and the Nation at this day above two Millions in debt. And how farre future exigencies will drive his Highness to make use of the estates of such persons whom hee deems men of no integrity wee may finde when these arreares come to be audited and payed.

It was then little thought (for into what heart could it enter?) when wee oppos'd our selves agaynst the illegall exorbitancies of the Court, that a Person of so great austeritie of life, so frequent in bewayling the miseries of his Countrey; so sedulous and vigilant in his Charge; so tender of the Lawes, and Libertyes of the Nation, and so narrowly searching into all the hidden corners of arbitrary and encroaching Policy, should at the last arrogate to himself a jurisdiction farre greater then that with which hee contented, or then yet any King of

of *England* ever assumed. It was then little imagin'd that the time should come, when this great Champion of the Lawes, should stop the Lawes in theyr due course and imprison the most eminent of the long Robe for declaring the expresse letter of the Lawes; That this defender of Liberty of Conscience should discountenance and restraine men in the exercise of their Conscience; and this rigid maintayner of the Rights, and Priviledges of Parliament, laying asyde his now useless religieall vizard, subvert the very foundation of that venerable Assembly; To this I say some yeares past, though the tongue of an Oracle had predicted it, we should slowly have given credit.

But that these pleasant dreames might no longer delude us, hee declares how that our Lawes are not the Card by which he is to steere, and that it were Ridiculous, and foolish; say brutish to imagine that those Charters which our Ancestours with so great hazard and expence contended for, were now any longer fit to bee maintayned as the square of his Government; that in the intercourse pretended betweene his and the Divine Spirit, whatsoever should be dictated to him hee would observe as his rule, and wee ought to follow as our blind guide; That hee had rather be led by necessity and providence (his owne Creatures) then by the wisest, and best instituted Lawes of the world.

That our supreme Magistrate is irreprehensible, that his actions ought neither to fall under the examination of the People, or be lyable to the Censure of any Court whatsoever.

Wee doe not, we cannot believe that the whole body of the Army are so forgetfull of theyr engagements, that they contribute so much as theyr assent to this sad oppression of their Countrymen; or that those who so strenuously oppos'd it in the late King, can now favour tyrannie under the disguise of another name. Nay wee rest assur'd that these pravarications have averted the hearts of many whom the impostures of his zeale had allur'd and seduced.

For

